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# 1. Foreword

When the remnants of the Chinese Communist Army reached northern Shensi after the long trek of 1934-35, they decided upon five basic principles to guide them in their reorganization and long-range training program. Three of these principles were: To use the land reform movement as a means of amplifying the source of soldiers; to put soldiers not on active combat duty into production activities; and to equalize the treatment of officers and men. The last two principles, which were the nucleus of a plan for political activity within the military, were as follows:

- a. To convert the Party Delegate System into the Political Work System and thus bring the production line and the front line into the Party; to expand the Party organization within the army and thus strengthen the control of the Party over the military.
- b. To expand the educational movement in the army and bring about a reduction of illiteracy by a cultural education program; to spread the theories of Communism among all ranks of fighting men, from top commanders to enlisted men, and thus heighten their appreciation of Party policies and of practical training in the business of war; to promote discussions of present-day problems in order to raise the cultural level of the army and to strengthen its Party comprehension, that is, its political faith.

Thus the system of political activity in the military was established. During the last decade, the Chinese Communist Army under the system of political tutelage has grown strong. It has continuously succeeded with small forces in shattering the numerically vastly superior Nationalist forces. It has now succeeded in conquering the entire Chinese mainland and establishing its political power therein. Much of the credit for this accomplishment should go to the system of political activity in the military.

## 2. Chinese Communist Party Political Work System in the Military.

The Political Work Organization in the military is intended to carry out the will of the Party, to follow the leadership of the Party, to carry out the orders of the Party, and to advance the progress of political activity in the military establishment.

The Political Work Organization is not under the direction of any military organization of equal rank, but is coordinate with each military unit on each level. Under the General Headquarters of the Chinese Communist Army, as well as in the Military Districts and in the Public Security Forces, there are two systems operating on an equal basis in all units down to the company level. One system is responsible for all military activities, from commanders to enlisted men. The other system is responsible for political activities.

### a. Organization of the Political Work Organization

(1) Chinese Communist Army, General Headquarters.

(a) General Political Department: One to three chairmen.

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- (b) Purpose: To direct political activity throughout the entire military establishment.
- (2) Field army, army group, army, division.
  - (a) Political commissar: Leader of the political work for the unit.
  - (b) One or two deputy political commissars.
  - (c) Political department: Chairman and one to three deputy chairmen. It is directly responsible to the political commissar. Its duty is to carry out political work in the military unit to which it is assigned. The political department is the executive arm for the commissar in the unit. The chairman of the political department is the chief advisor to the political commissar.
- (3) Regiment.
  - (a) Political commissar: Since there is no political department in this unit, the commissar carries on the functions of the Political department.
  - (b) Deputy political commissar.
- (4) Battalion, company.
  - (a) Political advisor.
  - (b) Deputy political advisor.
- b. Relationship between the Military and Political Organizations
 

With regard to the division of authority and work between the political and military units, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee has laid down the following stipulations:

  - (1) Matters concerning the whole army, such as political regulations, are issued by the Military and Administrative Committee.\*
  - (2) Work among the masses, such as propaganda, organization, and reconstruction, is the duty of the political department.
  - (3) Helping in the establishment and expansion of armed partisan organizations is the duty of the political department. Military training and command in time of war is the duty of the military headquarters.
  - (4) In matters of personnel the two branches are independent in operation. In matters of common interest they act in unison and prepare joint reports.
  - (5) In matters of courtesy and discipline there is mutual consideration in accord with the principles governing obedience according to rank.

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- (6) With regard to commissary service, sanitation, military movements, military campaigns, and encampments, the political organization must follow the orders of the military. In matters of political training and activity among the masses, the military organization must follow the directions of the political organization. Orders should be transmitted only through the regular channels of the respective organizations.
- (7) Party expenses are paid by the political department.
- (8) All military orders must be countersigned by the political commissar. Chairmen of the Political Departments do not need to sign. Orders of the Political Departments are issued independently and the military commander need not countersign.

From the above regulations it may appear that the political and military organizations are coordinate; actually this is not the case. The political organization is above the military. All decisions of the military must be concurred in by the political commissars; thus the political organization controls the military.

### 3. Power of the Chinese Communist Party over the Military

The Party employs two methods for controlling the military. First, it sets up its own organization in the military establishment and organizes Party committees on all levels, thus directly controlling the basic personnel and cadres of the military. Second, the Party controls the Political Work Organization in the military and thus indirectly controls the military.

#### a. Party Organization in the Military

- (1) In the General Headquarters of the Chinese Communist Army, as well as in the headquarters of the Military District Forces and the Public Security Forces, there is a Party committee. At the head of the committee are a secretary and one or two deputies. The committee is composed of seven to fifteen members who carry the responsibility for the Party activity throughout the military.
- (2) The Party organization in the field armies, army groups, armies, and divisions is the same as in the General Headquarters of the Chinese Communist Army.
- (3) Regiments have central branch departments; battalions have central sub-branch departments; companies have branch departments; and platoons and squads have cells. The personnel will be determined by the status of the unit to which it belongs and the number of Party members in the unit.
- (4) Under special circumstances a temporary front line Party work committee may be organized where action is on a base area. Its organization will resemble that of the Party committee in a field army.
- (5) The Party's main objective in military units shall be to expand its membership among the enlisted men of the combat force. Company and platoon leaders may be chosen from among non-Party members, but squad leaders must be Party members.

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- (6) According to statistics of the Chinese Communist Party compiled in August 1950, there were 1,200,000 Party members in the armed forces. This is 20 percent of the total strength of the Chinese Communist Army. Consequently the will of the Party is very easily transmitted through Party organization to the lowest ranks.

## b. Relationship of the Party to the Political Work Organization

- (1) From the political department of the Chinese Communist Army down to the division level, the duties of the political commissars are carried on by the secretary of the Party committee in the unit concerned. Thus the high-ranking Political Work Organization personnel are largely Party committee members also.
- (2) Because there are no Political departments in regiments and battalions, the political commissar does not serve as secretary of the central and central sub-branch departments. The secretary of these branch organizations assists the commissar in carrying on the work.
- (3) The political advisor of a company acts concurrently as secretary of the branch department, since the number of persons in a company is not large and the amount of work is consequently less.

## c. Execution of the Will of the Party by the Political Work Organization

The Party organization in the armed forces can control only Party members. It cannot directly influence officers and men who are not Party members. The Party, therefore, must control the whole of the military indirectly through the Political Work Organization. It has already been stated that in certain phases of the relationship between the Party and the Political Work Organization in the armed forces, the responsible personnel of the Party act concurrently as political commissars. Thus actually the Political Work Organization in the armed forces is a part of the Party organization. The will of the Party can be conveyed from the Party's military committee through the political commissars to the political departments. Thus it may be said that all the activities of the Political Work Organization are merely to transmit the will of the Party throughout the entire personnel of the armed forces, whether they be Party members or not.

Thus it is evident that the Party, in order to control the military thoroughly and carry out the will of the Party, not only sets up the Party organizations in the armed forces, but also controls the Political Work Organization.

## 4. Protection of the Party by the Political Work Organization

The control of the armed forces by the Chinese Communist Party appears to be a top-to-bottom arrangement carrying the decisions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party through the Political Work Organization to the individual enlisted man. However, the Political Work Organization not only transmits the decisions of the Party to the individual soldier, but it also coordinates the activities of every

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member of the armed forces from the lowest rank to the highest. The members of a squad carry out a squad's responsibility, and thus from a squad upward through platoon, company, battalion, regiment, division, army, army group, field army to the General Headquarters of the Chinese Communist Army. The whole military structure is bound together in carrying out the wishes of the Party. Thus does the Political Work Organization protect the interests of the Party in the armed forces.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party expects two things of its personnel in the political activities program in the armed forces. First, they must steady and strengthen the martial spirit in the armed forces. Second, they must carry out every order absolutely.

a. Stabilization and Intensification of the Fighting Spirit in the Military

MAO Tse-tung has said that the significance of the Chinese Communist Army lies in the fact that it is the armed representative of the classes in carrying out their political responsibilities. Its work is to establish and bulwark political power. He said further that the Chinese Communist Army needs a fighting rank and file; hence, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee expects the personnel of the Political Work Organization to stabilize and intensify the martial spirit of the armed forces, so as to on the one hand support the existing political establishment and on the other to be prepared to meet any enemy attack. The Political Work Organization depends upon education to carry out its duties. The present educational program is as follows:

- (1) Political classes to raise the level of political consciousness.
- (2) Morning and evening lectures at roll call to establish political and military discipline.
- (3) Collection of speeches for the indoctrination and education of officers and men in the spirit of the revolution and patriotism.
- (4) Special slogans such as "protect the land," "revenge past wrongs," and "carry the revolution to completion" to establish firmly the political views of the rank and file.
- (5) Reading of Party publications, political documents, and books in order to understand the state of the Party.
- (6) Cell meetings, mutual discussions, criticism and self-criticism in order to correct the ideas of the soldiers.
- (7) Cultural activities and tableaux such as Ping Yen Ping (兵演兵), Su K'u Ta Hui (訴苦大會), and Li Kung Yun Tung (立功運動) in order to arouse class hatred and heighten martial emotions.

b. Assurance of the Execution of Orders

In carrying out each of their responsibilities, political workers lay aside all old ideas of compulsion. They first carefully explain

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the purposes of their activities in the cell meetings so that the enlisted men thoroughly understand and voluntarily decide upon methods and steps required in carrying on the work before they undertake it. The political workers then arouse a spirit of competition by promoting the idea of becoming model heroes, and stirring up the enlisted men who are Party members to take the lead in acting as liaison men to secure the cooperation of the non-Party members in carrying out the objectives of the organization. This sort of liaison work frequently results in the carrying out of the political workers' orders and also accomplishes the purpose of the protection of the Party.

5. Relationship between the Military and the People under the Political Work System.

The Political Work Organization not only protects the control of the Party over the military, but also insures cooperation between the armed forces and the people. MAO Tse-tung has said that the responsibility of the military is not solely to fight, it also has the responsibility of propagandizing, organizing, and arming the masses. Separated from the people, the purpose of warfare is entirely lost, as well as the value of the military. Hence, the political workers have a responsibility for work among the masses.

During the last several decades, there has been a great gulf between the Chinese military and the people. The military cheated and oppressed the people, the people hated the army, and no cooperation was ever possible. However, the Chinese Communist Army has demolished this line of demarcation. Where ever the Chinese Communist Army has been engaged, the Chinese Communist Party has used every device to arouse the people to join in the support of the troops by giving of their manpower and their wealth to aid in the struggle of the Chinese Communist Party. The present situation is due largely to this factor, without regard to whether the cooperation was always out of a genuine love of the cause. The political work program carries on the following activities to improve relations between the military and the people:

a. Within the military.

- (1) Promote the love of the people and the strict enforcement of the three disciplines and the eight important commands, thus obviating the chief obstacles to close cooperation between the military and the people.
- (2) Assist the people in their production activities, thus laying a foundation for class friendship between the military and the people.
- (3) Spread the idea that it is the political responsibility of the military to liberate the people from their distress, while at the same time promoting the martial spirit of the people, thus furthering the idea that the military and the people have common interests in both good times and bad.
- (4) Effect the economic rehabilitation of the poor workers and peasants through struggle, land reform, and the liquidation of evil landlords. Thus the degree of support afforded the military by the people will be increased.

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b. Among the people

- (1) Promote recruiting among the people for the army, thus augmenting military man power and cementing the army and the people into a homogeneous unit.
- (2) Promote aid for the military by the people, thus strengthening love of the people by the military and ardent support of the military by the people.
- (3) Promote popular support for the front line services with the wealth and property of the people.
- (4) Organize self-preservation corps for civilian defense in order to release regular troops for front line duty.

25X1A \* [REDACTED] Comment. The exact organization meant by the Military and Administrative committee is not clear. The characters (軍政會) which have been translated here as Military and Administrative committee are generally used for the organizations which control large sections of China such as the Central and South China Military and Administrative committee. However, no overall Party or Government organization with this title is known to this office.

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